Carter Glass

LATE A SENATOR FROM
VIRGINIA

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
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Memorial Services

HELD IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Carter Glass

LATE A SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

Eightieth Congress
First Session

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Biography

CARTER GLASS was born in Lynchburg, Campbell County, Va., January 4, 1858; attended private and public schools; served 8 years in the mechanical department of a printing office, and afterwards in successive stages filled the positions of reporter, city editor, and editor, owner of the Lynchburg Daily News and the Daily Advance; member of the board of visitors of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville 1898–1906; member of the State senate from 1899 until 1903, when he resigned; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1901; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-seventh Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Peter J. Otev; reelected to the Fifty-eighth and to the eight succeeding Congresses, and served from November 4, 1902, until his resignation on December 16, 1918, before the close of the Sixty-fifth Congress, having been appointed Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson; member of the Democratic National Committee 1916–28; resigned from the Cabinet February 2, 1920, having previously been appointed Senator; appointed to the United States Senate on November 18, 1918, and subsequently elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas S. Martin in the term ending March 3, 1925, but did not qualify until February 2, 1920, preferring to retain his Cabinet portfolio; reelected in 1924, 1930, 1936, and again in 1942, and served from February 2, 1920, until his death; declined appointment as Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt; died in Washington, D. C., May 28, 1946; interment in Spring Hill Cemetery, Lynchburg, Va.

In the House of Representatives

MONDAY, *April 14, 1947.*

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Resolution 179.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That on Monday, the 19th day of May 1947, immediately after the approval of the Journal, the House shall stand at recess for the purpose of holding the memorial services as arranged by the Committee on House Administration under the provisions of clause (1) (j) (2) (C) of rule XI of the rules of the House of Representatives. The order of exercises and proceedings of the service shall be printed in the Congressional Record, and all Members shall have leave for sixty legislative days to extend their remarks in the Congressional Record on the life, character, and public service of deceased Members. At the conclusion of the proceedings the Speaker shall call the House to order, and then, as a further mark of respect to the memories of the deceased, he shall declare the House adjourned.

* * * * *

The resolution was agreed to.

Memorial Services
in the
House of Representatives

Eightieth Congress
First Session

Memorial Service Program

Prelude, sacred selections (11:30 to 12)
United States Marine Corps Orchestra

Presiding officer----------The Speaker, Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

Invocation----------The Chaplain, Dr. James Shera Montgomery

Solo: There Is No Death (O'Hara)----------Hon. Harve Tibbott
Representative from the State of Pennsylvania
At the piano------Musician Irving Filler

Scripture reading and prayer----------The Chaplain

Roll of deceased Members
The Clerk of the House of Representatives

Devotional silence.

Address----------Hon. Frank B. Keefe
Representative from the State of Wisconsin

Solo: Beautiful Isle of Somewhere (Ferris)-----Hon. Harve Tibbott
At the piano------Musician Irving Filler

Address----------Hon. Michael J. Mansfield
Representative from the State of Montana

Taps----------Musician Robert De Hart

Benediction----------The Chaplain

Carter Glass

Memorial Services

MONDAY, *May 19, 1947.*

The SPEAKER of the House of Representatives (Mr. MARTIN) presided.

The Chaplain, Dr. Montgomery:

O Divine Redeemer, we wait in the eternal ways. As the earthly door closes and the heavenly door opens, fix our faith upon the hills, from whence cometh our strength. Our strength cometh from the Lord. With the light of Thy sovereign wisdom, look through our limitations and command our understanding, and keep us in the way everlasting.

Merciful God, the sands of life run swiftly; we know not when the silver cord will be loosed, the golden bowl be broken, but so long as faith and hope and love shall live, so long is the immortality of the soul assured. Be this the comfort and the hope of the sorrowing ones of our deceased Members, in whose memory we have gathered. May they go forward with patience and fortitude, and at the last, as our earthly eyes close, do Thou bear us up the stairway, through the darkness, to the Father's house, to the Father's love, and we shall go out no more forever. In the name of Jesus our Saviour. Amen.

Hon. HARVE TIBBOTT, accompanied by Musician Irving Filler, sang There Is No Death.

The CHAPLAIN:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

CHAPLAIN'S PRAYER

Serene I fold my hands and wait,
  Nor care for wind, nor tide, nor sea;
I rave no more 'gainst time nor fate,
  For lo! my own shall come to me.

I stay my haste, I make delays;
  For what avails this eager pace?
I stand amid the eternal ways,
  For what is mine shall know my face,

Asleep, awake, by night or day,
  The friends I seek are seeking me;
No wind can drive my bark astray,
  Nor change the tide of destiny.

What matter if I stand alone?
I wait with joy the coming years;
My heart shall reap where it has sown
And gather up its fruit of tears.

The stars come nightly to the sky,
The tidal wave unto the sea;
Nor time, nor space, nor deep, nor high,
Can keep my own away from me.

He leads me in no darker room
Than he himself went through
And in our path is laid no stone
He would not carry too.

Blessed be His holy name.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever.

Amen.

ROLL OF DECEASED MEMBERS

Mr. Alney E. Chaffee, reading clerk of the House of Representatives, read the following roll:

CARTER GLASS, a Senator from the State of Virginia: Born January 4, 1858; printer; reporter; editor; publisher; student of private and public schools; member, board of visitors, University of Virginia, 1898–1906; member State senate, 1899–1903; delegate, State constitutional convention, 1901; Member, House of Representatives, Fifty-seventh to Sixty-fifth Congresses; Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet; declined reappointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Member of the United States Senate, under appointment and election from February 2, 1920; died May 28, 1946.

JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2D, a Senator from the State of Alabama: Born July 8, 1872; lawyer; graduate, University of Alabama, 1891, and Georgetown University, 1893; president, Bankhead Coal Co., 1911–25; major, Alabama National Guard, 1901–3; member, State house of representatives, 1904–5; trustee, University of Ala-

bama, 1917–19 and 1931–46; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died June 12, 1946.

CHARLES OSCAR ANDREWS, a Senator from the State of Florida: Born March 7, 1877; soldier; lawyer; judge; attended South Florida Military Institute; graduate, State normal school, 1901, and University of Florida, 1907; captain, National Guard, Spanish-American War; secretary, State senate, 1905–7, and 1909–11; judge of the Criminal Court of Record, Walton County, 1910–11; assistant attorney general, 1912–19; circuit judge seventeenth judicial circuit, 1919–25; general counsel, Florida Real Estate Commission, 1925–28; member, State house of representatives, 1927; city attorney, Orlando, 1926–29; State supreme court commissioner, 1929–32; elected United States Senator 1936, 1940; died September 18, 1946.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, a Senator from the State of North Carolina; Born September 14, 1873; editor; lawyer; attended Raleigh Academy; graduate, Wake Forest College, 1893; editor Biblical Recorder, 1893–1907; member, State board of agriculture, 1896–1900; Presidential elector, 1908; collector of internal revenue, 1913–21; member, constitutional commission, 1915; trustee, University of North Carolina, 1930; elected United States Senator 1930, 1936, and 1942; died December 15, 1946.

WILLIAM JAMES GALLAGHER, Third Congressional District of Minnesota: Born May 13, 1875; clerk; graduate, North High school, Minneapolis, 1894; employee of Hennepin County, 1927–42; Member of the Seventy-ninth Congress; died August 13, 1946.

WILLIAM BERNARD BARRY, Fourth Congressional District of New York: Born July 21, 1902; lawyer; graduate, New York University, 1925, and New York University Law School, 1929; assistant district attorney, Queens County, 1932–33; special United States attorney, Department of Justice, 1933–35; Member House of Representatives, Seventy-fourth and succeeding Congresses; died October 20, 1946.

ROBERT KIRKLAND HENRY, Second Congressional District of Wisconsin: Born February 9, 1890; banker; student, University of Wisconsin; State treasurer, 1931–35; Jefferson Municipal Water and Light Commissioner, 1939–44; State banking commissioner, 1940–44; Member, Seventy-ninth Congress; Member-elect, Eightieth Congress; died November 20, 1946.

FRED BARTHOLD NORMAN, Third Congressional District of Washington: Born March 21, 1882; merchant; graduate, Martinsville (Ill.) High School; member, Raymond (Wash.) City Council, 1916–18; member, Washington State House of Representatives,

1910–20; State senate, 1925–36; president, Southwest Washington Good Roads Association; director, White Pass Cross State Highway Association; elected to the Seventy-eighth and Eightieth Congresses; died April 18, 1947.

CHARLES LEWIS GERLACH, Eighth Congressional District of Pennsylvania: Born September 14, 1895; businessman; educated in the public schools of Bethlehem; chairman, organization committee Republican clubs Lehigh County; Republican State committeeman, 1936–37; elected to the House of Representatives, Seventy-sixth and succeeding Congresses; died May 5, 1947.

Mrs. NORTON, a Representative from the State of New Jersey, standing in front of the Speaker's rostrum, and aided by Camellio Melchiorre, a page of the House of Representatives, placed a memorial rose in a vase as the name of each deceased Member was read by the Clerk.

There followed a period of devotional silence, during which the Members stood.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Keefe].

ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK B. KEEFE

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed fitting and proper that we set aside 1 day each year when we can pause for a time, and in the quiet and serenity of our garden of memories, reflect upon the life and work of our colleagues whom God in His infinite wisdom has called to eternal rest.

In vain we call the roll. They have left us. Never again will we hear the familiar voice or see the cheering smile or feel the sturdy handclasp. It seems only yesterday that they were here among us, and yet difficult as it is to realize the fact of death, we are comforted in the thought that each faced that great adventure without fear and with the assurance of St. John, who recorded "for God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

It is indeed a grand tradition that permits us in this hour to engrave upon the imperishable records of the Congress the love and respect which we all have for the memory of our deceased colleagues.

Is this a time only for sorrow? Should our thoughts turn only to the mysteries of death? Should we think only "of the stern agony and shroud and pall and breathless darkness and the narrow house?" All nature rebels at the very suggestion. On every side, God's handiwork bids us think not of death but of life. As has been so well said by the poet: "Whether we look or whether we listen, we hear life murmur or see it glisten. Every clod feels a stir of might—an instinct within it that rises and towers and, groping blindly above it for light, climbs to a soul in grass and flowers."

Mr. Speaker, I like to think of the struggle of people all over the earth—the mothers and fathers of all races who in a mad and confused world, grope blindly but prayerfully for peace. Like the poet's insensible clod, there is an instinct within the heart of man that, pray God, will rise and tower and some day burst forth into a soul of love and world peace.

Our colleagues served their country during the most exciting and dramatic period in the world's history. They heard the agonized pleas of the little people of the world who cried out for peace, people who knew of the chaos and destructiveness of war and who wanted nothing except liberty and freedom.

We recall the world events that precipitated the recent international tragedy. History has now recorded the noble phrases that defined America's moral objectives in a world torn by war.

We recall the promises to the little people of the world that America would forever carry the torch of freedom—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

We recall the numerous steps short of war that were allegedly designed to stop aggressors and to protect peace-loving nations.

We recall the August 1941 conference aboard a battleship in the Atlantic, and we recall the nobility of thought and purpose expressed in the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter, which, when proclaimed to the world, gave hope to lovers of freedom and liberty and peace.

We recall those promises which committed two great nations of the world; first, that we seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other; second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, they proclaimed their eternal devotion to self-government for all people to equal access of all to the trade and raw materials of the world, to improved labor conditions, to a peace which will afford assurances that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want; and finally, they avowed that the nations of the world must abandon the use of force.

Thus was hope extended to people of the world, whose enjoyment of the privileges of peace and liberty and freedom seemed crushed by the ruthless heel of a cruel dictator.

We recall how the heart of America swelled with just pride in the thought that we seek nothing except to give to all people the rights so beautifully proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter. We recall how inexorably events led us to active participation and to final victory in the late World War.

Two years have passed since VJ-day. Two years since agonized and weary people throughout the world prayerfully thanked God that at long last the firing had ceased and peace and freedom and liberty were on the immediate horizon.

What has happened to the noble principles of the Atlantic Charter? What of the little people whose voices we heard crying out for peace and for liberty and for freedom? Now that we have made the greatest sacrifice in the history of the world, are they to be abandoned forever to exist as mere pawns in the hands of new and ruthless dictators?

In the confusion of Tehran, Yalta, Moscow, Potsdam, Casablanca, and Lake Success have those noble principles that graced our banners been smothered and wiped out?

As Americans, we rebel at the very thought that such might be the case. They must be revitalized and reestablished and reasserted as dynamic, living principles to guide the conduct of men. Millions of people throughout the world hopefully and prayerfully look to the United Nations as the vehicle through which ultimately the principles for which we fought may be realized.

Two years since VJ-day. Is there freedom from fear in the world? Ask the little people of Greece, of Italy, Rumania, Poland, Lithuania, Indochina, or India.

Is there freedom from want? Ask the hungry and starving people of Japan and China, of Austria and Hungary, Germany, Greece, Poland. Even ask the people of England. Ask the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons wandering in fear and want throughout Europe. Ask the millions of men who as so-called prisoners of war are, in violation of all international and moral laws, relegated to the crushing and debasing role of slaves.

Is there peace in the world today? The reverberation of gunfire in Palestine, China, Indochina, and Paraguay provides daily evidence that few, if any, of the problems that affect the lives of the little men and women of the world have been solved.

The threat of atomic destruction, of guided missiles, and germ and poison warfare stalks the world.

Everywhere men complain of the uncertainties of life. Young people and old complain of insecurity. Fear in the hearts of men everywhere—2 years after the official close of the shooting war that was fought to make men free.

Will we go from war to war, killing, maiming, and destroying? Has the world become so debauched that there is no answer to the prayers of those who pray for peace? Have we nothing better to offer the present and future generations?

Has God permitted us to unlock his last great treasure house and given us the secrets of atomic and cosmic energy, only to use them to kill and destroy?

The answer is clear. We have not lost faith. There must be a great moral and spiritual awakening in the hearts and souls of men. There must be a gigantic crusade, guided by faith in God and inspired by the eternal principles of the Golden Rule and Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

Mr. Speaker, the light of the torch of freedom and liberty has been growing dim throughout the world. As recorded in holy writ: "For everyone that doeth evil, hateth the light; neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth, cometh to the light that his deeds may be manifest that are wrought in God."

God has placed in the custody of the people of America that torch of freedom. We must rekindle its flame and, burning fiercely, lift it on high and carry forward that it may light up and destroy all the dark recesses and forces of hate, bigotry, and intolerance on this earth.

And so, my colleagues, in this hour of communion with the spirits of our departed friends, may we experience a renewal of faith and an inspiration for a continued life of devoted service to the ideals of Christian brotherhood.

Hon. HARVE TIBBOTT, accompanied by Musician Irving Filler, sang Beautiful Isle of Somewhere.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

ADDRESS BY HON. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, we meet today in memory and in honor of our dear departed dead—those Members of the Senate and the House who have this past year gone to their eternal reward. They were our brothers, our colleagues, our friends; and to them we owe a debt we can never repay. Coming here as we do once a year for remembrance is to

participate in a ceremony which not only honors our departed friends but in a small way shows our appreciation for those who by their example give us courage to continue to fight for the ideals which motivated them as men, as Americans, as representatives of Americans.

In other countries, other people have different means of honoring their dead, but in all of them this recognition has been given wholeheartedly. Since time immemorial man has seen fit to render some sort of tribute to those who were no longer with them. We find, for example, that the Mayan Indians of Central America garbed their dead in fine garments, stored utensils of various kinds in the burial place, and sacrificed a dog for the occasion. The utensils were to give to the deceased a continuation of the things to which he had become accustomed; the garments were to keep him warm on his journey; and the dog was to lead his master along the path and into the land to where all good people go. In China the policy of ancestor veneration has been in practice for over 2,500 years and the memories of those who have passed away are never forgotten. Rather the good which they performed was always remembered, and the institution of the family was forever aware of the honor to be accorded to its members.

Just these few historic examples point to the fact that what we are doing here today is a continuation of that custom which has been followed by all men, in all countries, in all times.

As we gather here in this sad, sweet, tender hour of memorial, we should not mourn for those who are now at peace, for those who are now receiving just reward for work well done. Instead we should see in their passing the completion of their life's cycle and a transposing of the striving and yearning of their spirit to the land that "no eye hath seen" where they can continue their aspirations on a spiritual level. We who are left behind, should be imbued with their goodness, for the works of the spirit never die, and find

encouragement, hope, and inspiration to finish in the here and now the task they began. If we were to stand here with the belief that their passing from this life was the end of it all—that the grave was really the goal, than I say we would have true cause to mourn. But everything around us points to the continuity of life. We all accept the laws of physics—the conservation of matter. We know that no physical matter is destroyed, but only transformed. The rose blooms, dies, nourishes the ground which produces the new rose. The clouds lift in their arms the waters of the seven seas and carry them to let fall on the parched earth, whose rivers and streams in turn carry them again to their mother ocean.

If we accept all this—these things we see with our eyes, know with our senses, then surely we must also accept the indestructibility of those spiritual things in man, his thoughts, personality, soul. From time immemorial, man has looked upon the order of the universe—the change of seasons, the pathways of the stars, the cycle of life from birth to death—and of the necessity born of reasoning attributed these wonders to a source, a first cause, a God.

It is inherent in the nature of man to feel his own immortality. The wonders of Nature and the thoughts of man are sparks from the Supreme Intelligence who creates everything and destroys nothing. With this belief, we thus feel that our departed comrades and we ourselves become a part of the somehow oneness of all existing things. They continue to exist on a higher plane; we grasp the torch they fling us in passing and endeavor to carry on their highest aspirations and ideals on this earth. By so doing we keep alive the ties of humanity, that ever-ending chain which encompasses all eternity.

All of those who comprised the links in this chain were not without fault, but it is perhaps because of their faults that we appreciate their virtues the more. Man was not born to be perfect—that is God's prerogative only—but man has constantly striven toward perfection. The frailties which

beset our departed friends are the frailties of those still left behind. Therefore, we should write their faults in sand and their virtues on tablets of love. It is as if they asked us to dig a little hole in our hearts and bury them there and lay the fresh flowers of understanding and remembrance on them often. It is not difficult for us to remember them in kindness and charity for we can say with Longfellow:

We may build more splendid habitations, fill our rooms with paintings and with sculptures, but we cannot buy with gold the old associations.

Words cannot express how much they will be missed by family and friends. It is not in the power of man to know the influence of another man's life. To each is given specific talents and graces and thought processes, which go to make up his personality and make him unique among his associates. Each deed he performs is his very own and has its influence where not even he sometimes knows. As we glance back in memory at the faces of former Congresses we remember one man for his deeds and great words of courage, another for his intense devotion to the duties of his office, another for his skill in debate, and still another for his integrity and moral purpose. We may miss a friend for something as simple as a cheering smile, a word of encouragement, the greater wordless depth of his understanding. We will miss the pleasure of still another's hearty handshake, buoyancy, and love of life. The man whose little hidden kindly deeds that were known but to us alone, we shall miss most of all.

When we consider the traits of personality and character which endeared our departed friends to us, we should pause to weigh how many opportunities for fellowship and understanding elude us who are left because we are engrossed in our own particular spheres of duty. We are often too busy with our usual workaday lives to enlarge our understanding and to enrich or own characters by wholeheartedly giving of ourselves in sincere friendship. Here in this Congress sit men from every State and Territory in our grand old Union.

From the forests of Washington, and Maine, and Oregon; from California's sunny clime; from Kansas' waving plains and Mississippi's cottonfields; from New York's man-made canyons and my own Montana's shining mountains—come our colaborers with the wealth of their knowledge. Here we can exchange information about commerce and industry and agriculture and mining. We can have first-hand information about these from those who know them best—for you who sit here represent these infinite and various fields that make up the vast panorama that is America. As we stand here in recollection of our former colleagues, maybe wistfully wishing that we had taken time in one case to lend a helping hand or in another to say a word of praise, let us resolve that we will not fail to cement the bonds of friendship offered here now.

At this hour of remembrance we like to remember our comrades as men who, coming to this great legislative body, were moved with the desire to be of service to their fellow citizens. They assumed obligations not alone because of the personal benefits to be derived, but because of the contributions they felt they could give to the welfare of their community, State, and Nation. As legislators it was their constant duty to answer their country's needs, and in so doing, they tried to keep alive in this land the principles of peace, freedom, and equality. Yes, this is the way we think of them. We can say that it was their hourly care, as men and Americans, "to do that which their hands findeth to do with carefulness, unaffected dignity, humanity, freedom, and justice." Each of these departed ones labored to make this a better, a more abundant, and a more beautiful world. Their good deeds live after them. Each act of kindness, of humanity, of courage, of wisdom, of justice, which they performed somehow makes less burdensome our present task of taking up their work where they left off. Good never dies. It permeates our present and makes possible our future. Let us

therefore take pride in the lofty endeavors of our departed colleagues and keep their memory fresh by carrying on their ideals.

I can think of no better way to show our respect to our dead or our duty to ourselves and to the future citizens of our country than to live up to the ideals of charity, justice, fidelity, and democracy which motivated the lives of these departed Members being honored today. It seems to me that the very foundation of our lives and Nation depends on the practice of such ideals. Today with our democracy being threatened on all sides, it is imperative that we live in bonds of closer understanding and unanimity. We should adhere to the precepts that actuated them as good Americans: to be democratic in our daily lives, to live and let live, to practice charity and tolerance, to allow free speech, the practice of one's own religion, and freedom of organization and assembly. They lived for democracy, fought for it, each in his own way, and practiced it so that we who remain behind can continue in the rights and privileges which they loved so much and treasured so dearly. Their heritage to us is something which we shall forever cherish because it is our connection with them. They served during difficult times. They met the problems confronting them with courage and fortitude, thus giving us hope that we may solve those that now face us—internal troubles which will take our greatest efforts, and external ones which make us apprehensive. They fought vigorously and fervently for peace, and now they have that peace which surpasses all understanding. We feel, therefore, that they can, from that eternal land to which they have gone but where they still live, inspire us to carry on their work for peace on earth and good will among men.

They gave their lives as truly as any soldier on the field of battle and they exemplified in their persons that duty to

God and country so characteristic of the membership of this great body. In the words of the poet Joyce Kilmer, I should like to greet the departed ones:

> Farewell!
> Comrades true, born anew, peace to you!
> Your souls shall be where the heroes are
> And your memory shine like the morning star.
> Brave and dear,
> Shield us here.
> Farewell!

Musician Robert De Hart, United States Marine Corps, sounded taps.

The Chaplain pronounced the following benediction:

The Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift the light of His countenance upon you and give you peace.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The relatives of the deceased Members were escorted from the Chamber by the Committee on Memorials.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 179, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Chair declares the House adjourned until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 1 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 20, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon.

Memorial Addresses
in the
House of Representatives

Memorial Addresses

Remarks by Representative Stanley

Of Virginia

Mr. STANLEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, 1946, the Honorable CARTER GLASS departed this life and thus was ended the long and distinguished career of a great man and true American statesman. The Commonwealth of Virginia and the Nation honor the memory of a noble public servant.

Born at Lynchburg, on January 4, 1858, in the great Piedmont section of his beloved Commonwealth of Virginia, Senator GLASS was destined from young manhood to become an outstanding public figure. Educated in private and public schools and in the newspaper business, he was elected to the Virginia Senate, 1899–1903, and the Virginia Constitutional Convention, 1901–2; the United States House of Representatives for 10 terms; served as Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet; and in the United States Senate from 1920 until his death.

Among many notable achievements, Senator GLASS excelled in the field of finance. He maintained a lifelong interest in fiscal problems and was recognized as an expert in monetary affairs. His speech in support of the Federal Reserve Act will go down in history as a masterly analysis of a most difficult and intricate subject. His work in behalf of the Federal Reserve System gained for him the title "Father and Defender of the Federal Reserve" and won everlasting praise from his warm personal friend, Woodrow Wilson, who appointed him as Secretary of the Treasury on February 2, 1920.

American agriculture owes much to the able work of the beloved Senator GLASS in support of the Federal Farm Loan Bank System.

In politics, Senator GLASS was a stanch party man and fought valiantly for the Democratic Party. He was a delegate to every National Convention since 1892. He paid strict allegiance to his party's principles and was a true Jeffersonian Democrat. His brave and courageous fight for the Presidential ticket in 1928 was typical of many notable contributions to his party's cause.

Although Senator GLASS was not privileged to attend college, he was awarded honorary degrees by Lafayette College, Washington and Lee University, the University of North Carolina, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, William and Mary, Wesleyan, Tufts, Columbia, Hamilton, New York University, and Lynchburg College. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa of William and Mary College and served for 8 years as a member of the board of visitors of the University of Virginia.

In the United States Senate, his keen intellect, sound judgment, unimpeachable character, great courage, colorful personality, and high qualities of statesmanship, were manifested time and time again throughout his long and notable career as a Member of that body. He filled many important posts in the Senate, and served as chairman of the great Committees on Appropriations, and Banking and Currency. He was elected as President pro tempore of the Senate on June 10, 1941, and held that high honor until January 6, 1945.

It was a great privilege and honor to have known Senator GLASS and to have been one of his many friends. I pay sincere tribute to his memory and am proud of his wonderful record of honest, courageous, and able public service.

Remarks by Representative Drewry

Of Virginia

Mr. DREWRY. Mr. Speaker, the life of CARTER GLASS exemplifies the opportunity there is for every American who possesses ambition, courage, determination, and willingness for hard work to succeed in what he attempts to do.

CARTER GLASS was born in Virginia in 1858. His span of life covered the argumentative excitement of a possible disruption of his country, the actual conflict which was the outgrowth of two schools of thought as to the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, the so-called reconstruction period, the building up of the devastated area of the country in which he lived, the patriotic and heart-burning efforts of Virginians to put their State on the road to recovery, and three war periods in which his beloved State was endangered by the events affecting the welfare of his Nation. Such a period required moral, mental, and physical strength of a high order. His efforts resulted in placing him at the top of the statesmen of his time, who successfully used their genius for the welfare of their country.

His father, an officer in the Confederate Army, was a newspaper publisher, but, like all other Virginians, lost everything during the War Between the States. CARTER GLASS was 7 years old when the war ended, and Virginia, utterly bankrupt, was not in a position to provide complete educational facilities, so he, like other Virginia boys with limited educational opportunities, was forced to educate himself. He read and studied the books to which he had access, mainly in his father's library. The books were not many, but they contained in their pages the philosophy of the sages of the world. With a retentive mind, he never forgot his reading during this formative period of his life, and his writings and his

speeches show his acquaintance with the thought of the great philosophers of former times.

Naturally, in his efforts to make a living and get an education, his mind turned to newspaper work, and he became, first, a newspaper carrier at 13, and a year later went to work in the newspaper office as a typesetter. It is possible that his extensive vocabulary was partly obtained from the nature of his work, as unaccustomed words when setting type fixed themselves in his mind.

When he was 18 years of age his family moved from Lynchburg, Va., where he was born, to Petersburg, Va., his father having accepted the editorship of a Petersburg daily. I talked with him frequently about his life in my home town and enjoyed the recital of his experiences as a printer. He soon, however, had an urge to write and became a reporter for a Lynchburg paper, and from this time on, as he worked up finally to the ownership of the paper upon whose staff he had commenced his work, he became known throughout the State for his editorial style and his vigorous, trenchant method of expression. He was at his best probably in his political editorials, and soon began to take a personal interest in the politics of the State. Probably the value of his work as an editorial writer may never be properly evaluated, but as a journalist, he became well known throughout the State before he went into public life. His first public office was as State senator from the senatorial district comprising the city of Lynchburg and Campbell County, and he was a member of the State senate from 1899 to 1903, after which he resigned.

A State convention was called in 1901 to write a new organic law for Virginia, the purpose being to get rid of laws which were obnoxious to the people of the State and had been forced upon them in the reconstruction period. CARTER GLASS was selected as a delegate to that convention. It was an opportunity to do the things that were much to his liking and uppermost in his mind. Due to his work in that convention, he became one of the best-known men in the State, and

shaped the basic law to an extent that was probably greater than that of any other delegate. While there have been constitutional conventions since that time, that Constitution of Virginia still remains basic, and is largely the foundation of the work of the following constitutional conventions. The work of the convention of 1901–2 still remains, and the work of CARTER GLASS stands out in the framing of it.

In 1902 he was elected to fill a vacancy in the House of Representatives from the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia, and was seated December 1, 1902, in the Fifty-seventh Congress. He was reelected to all of the succeeding Congresses through the Sixty-sixth, but before the commencement of the Sixty-sixth Congress, he resigned to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury offered him by President Woodrow Wilson. The President's attention had been called to Senator GLASS' ability in his handling in the House of the Federal Reserve Act, and when Mr. McAdoo resigned, it is reported that he suggested to the President that Mr. GLASS would be the man to take his place. He was the first Secretary of the Treasury from Virginia and the first Cabinet officer from Virginia since John B. Flood was Secretary of War in President Buchanan's administration. In his position as Secretary of the Treasury, he was called upon to clean up the waste and wreckage of war, and there were numerous matters involving the Treasury, both foreign and domestic, which required the closest attention. This is not the place nor the time to do more than point out that at a dangerous time in the financial condition of the country, he served conscientiously and faithfully and with distinction.

Then came his appointment by the Governor of Virginia to the vacancy in the Senate of the United States occasioned by the death of Thomas S. Martin, but he remained as Secretary of the Treasury until the vacancy caused by his resignation of that position could be filled by the Presdent; therefore, he did not take his seat in the Senate until February 2, 1920. He was elected to the Senate for the unexpired term, and

then reelected for successive terms until his death May 28, 1946. His service in the Senate stands out before the country to such an extent that it is not necessary to go into details concerning it. An analysis of his personal character indicates his greatest attributes were courage, and independence of thought and action. From a legislative standpoint he was an outstanding and vigorous champion of the Constitution of the United States. In the history of the Senate, as the years passed from the beginning of the Government, and as long as this Government endures, CARTER GLASS will be ranked as one of the great leaders of that body. His position in legislation can be given in his own words in extracts from his speeches, which indicate his independence of mind and his appreciation of the fundamental principles as evidenced in the Constitution:

It is more than likely, though I do not admit it, that I have been wrong more than I have been right. But whether I have been right or wrong, I have spoken my own mind and voted my own way and did not permit anyone to do it for me. If I have been wrong, I regret it. In all events my purpose always has been to serve Virginia and my country.

The people of my State, I think, understand when they send me to the Senate, they send me to exercise my own best judgment and heed my own conscience. I would rather go out of the Senate and spend the few remaining years of my life where I was born among my people, and without their favor—but possessing still my intellectual integrity—than to surrender my convictions.

Again he expressed the same thought in the following words:

I prefer to think of a United States Senator as a representative of the sovereignty of his State and subject every moment of his service to the promptings of his conscience and the preservation of his own intellectual integrity.

I refuse to believe that the people of Virginia want me, as their representative, or the people of other States want their representatives, to vote for things unconstitutional and oppressive.

He was noted for his adherence to a strict interpretation of the Constitution. He consistently, fearlessly, and with

ability advocated adherence to the Constitution of the United States, and shaped his votes and his work in accordance with his views thereon. In his own inimitable phraseology, he called himself "a relic of constitutional government."

His views of the construction of the Constitution is expressed with such clarity that I am setting out a further extract from his addresses:

> The Constitution belongs to the people. It was written by great representatives of the people, chosen for the purpose, and was ratified by the people as the Supreme Charter of their Government, to be respected and maintained with the help of God. With the consent and by mandate of the people their Constitution provides how it may be amended to meet the requirements of the ages. It has always been so, and no administration in the history of the Republic has attempted to flank the Constitution by a legislative short-cut so vividly denounced by Woodrow Wilson as "an outrage upon constitutional morality."

I cannot end this feeble tribute to a great man without striking a personal note. I came to the House of Representatives a few months after he took his seat in the Senate. I had known him for many years, but had not had an intimate acquaintance with him. My work in the House involved, in my opinion, cooperation with my colleagues, both in the House and Senate. I conferred frequently with Senator GLASS and he never failed me. I relied upon his good judgment and his intense patriotism and his love for our State and Nation. My views, to a large extent, coincided with his. He had the great attribute of loyalty, not only to his country but to his friends. I felt that I had learned his friendship—he most assuredly not only had my loyal friendship but also my deep admiration for him as a man of integrity and ability. His character was beyond reproach. I feel deeply a personal loss, the loss of a strong friendship, and the political scene lacks in depth as well as in picturesqueness since he has been away from it. His death created not only a vacancy in the office which he held, but it also left a vacant place in the line-up of men throughout the years who have given their best patriotic endeavors to the welfare of their Nation.

Memorial Exercises
in the
United States Senate

Memorial Exercises in the Senate

WEDNESDAY, *April 21, 1948.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the terms of Senate Resolution 212, the hour has arrived for holding memorial services for deceased Senators.

Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., pastor, Gunton-Temple Memorial Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following invocation:

Almighty God, with a humble spirit and a contrite heart we call upon Thy great and holy name. In the life of each of us there are times when all our feelings seem to impose silence.

Grant that in this hour of sacred memory we may enter into a blessed communion with Thy Spirit, and the spirit of all upon whom Thou has bestowed the glorious benediction, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of Thy Lord."

Hear us for the sake of the Christ, our Saviour. Amen.

Solo, There Is No Death—O'Hara—by Robert C. Nicholson, baritone, Wesley Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., accompanied on the piano by William Watkins, organist, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

THERE IS NO DEATH

I tell you they have not died,
  They live and breathe with you,
They walk now here at your side,
  They tell you things are true,
Why dream of poppied sod
  When you can feel their breath,
When flower and soul and God
  Know there is no death?

I tell you they have not died,
  Their hands clasp yours and mine,
They are but glorified,
  They have become divine.
They live, they know, they see!
  They shout with every breath:
"All is eternal life;
  "There is no death."

Dr. BRASKAMP. The Scripture readings are taken from the Old and New Testaments.

Psalm 85: "I will hear what God the Lord will say, for He will speak peace unto His people and to His saints."

Psalm 90: "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.

"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

Then from the New Testament these gracious words which were spoken by our blessed Lord:

John 14: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.

"In My Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

"And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself, that where I am there ye may be also.

"Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

In St. Paul's great chapter on the resurrection, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, we find these words:

"Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

"For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

"For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

PRAYER BY DR. BRASKAMP

Most merciful and gracious God, the God of our fathers and of their succeeding generations, through Thy holy word Thou has spoken and in our hearts Thy voice is heard.

Thou art the author and disposer of human life, from whom our spirits have come and unto whom they return.

We thank Thee for Thy servants who walked and worked with us for a little while upon this earth and who now are with Thee in heavenly blessedness, having received, as the reward of their faith and their fidelity, the salvation of their souls.

We rejoice that whatever was noble and beautiful in their life, in Thy sight and in our sight, abides forever. We bless Thee for the glorious testimony that they sought to serve their generation according to Thy holy will and were numbered among those who do justly, who love mercy, and who walk humbly with the Lord. We have not said "farewell" but only "good night," hoping on some blessed morn to meet and dwell with them in hallowed union in that land whose language is music and where joys are unceasing.

Grant unto the sorrowing and the lonely the consolation of Thy grace. May they yield themselves without murmur or complaint to the dispensations of Thy providence for Thou dost give and Thou dost take away, and blessed is Thy name forevermore. Help them to lay hold of the peace and the eternal companionship of the Christ.

We pray that Thou wilt continue to bless our Nation, our President, and all who hold positions of leadership and responsibility in the affairs of government. May we be a Nation whose God is the Lord. We are not asking Thee

to deal with us in any preferential manner. We are not praying that Thou wilt make our beloved country a comfortable lotus land. May we be loyal partners with all who are laboring to build the kingdom of justice and righteousness, the social orde rin which there shall be peace and good will among men. Enable us to carry on in faith, in faithfulness, and in the fear of the Lord as we daily meet the problems and tasks which challenge the consecration of our noblest manhood.

To Thy name we ascribe all the praise. Amen.

ROLL OF DECEASED SENATORS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chief Clerk will call the roll of the Members of the Senate who have passed to the Great Beyond.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

JAMES GRAVES SCRUGHAM, a Senator from the State of Nevada, born January 19, 1880; graduated from the University of Kentucky receiving bachelor and master degrees in engineering; Governor of Nevada, 1923–27; editor and publisher of the Nevada State Journal, 1927–32; served as State engineer, 1919–23; United States Army 1917–18; one of the incorporators of the American Legion, 1919; commander of the Nevada Department, American Legion, 1919; and national vice commander 1920–21; elected to the Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, Seventy-fifth, Seventy-sixth, and Seventy-seventh Congresses; elected United States Senator November 3, 1942, to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Key Pittman ending January 3, 1947; died June 23, 1945.

HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON, a Senator from the State of California, born September 2, 1866; educated in the public schools of Sacramento and University of California; by profession, lawyer; elected Governor of California in 1910; reelected Governor in 1914; elected United States Senator in 1916, 1922, 1928, 1934, and 1940; died August 6, 1945.

JOHN THOMAS, a Senator from the State of Idaho; born January 4, 1874; engaged in livestock business; served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Idaho for 4 years; was member of the Republican National Committee two terms; was appointed to the Senate June 30, 1928, and elected November 6,

1928, to succeed Senator Frank R. Gooding, deceased, for the term ending March 3, 1933; again appointed to the Senate January 27, 1940, to succeed Senator William E. Borah, deceased, to serve until the next general election, when he was elected to fill balance of Senator Borah's unexpired term ending January 3, 1943; reelected November 3, 1942, for the term ending January 3, 1949; died November 10, 1945.

CARTER GLASS, a Senator from the State of Virginia; born, January 4, 1858; printer; reporter; editor; publisher; student of private and public schools; member, board of visitors, University of Virginia, 1898–1906; member, State senate, 1899–1903; delegate, State constitutional convention, 1901; Member, House of Representatives, Fifty-seventh to Sixty-fifth Congresses; Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet; declined reappointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Member of the United States Senate, under appointment and election from February 2, 1920; died May 28, 1946.

JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2d, a Senator from the State of Alabama; born, July 8, 1872; lawyer, graduate, University of Alabama, 1891, and Georgetown University, 1893; major, Alabama National Guard, 1901–3; member, State house of representatives, 1904–5; trustee, University of Alabama, 1917–19 and 1931–46; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died June 12, 1946.

CHARLES OSCAR ANDREWS, a Senator from the State of Florida; born, March 7, 1877; soldier; lawyer; judge; attended South Florida Military Institute; graduate, State normal school, 1901, and University of Florida, 1907; captain, National Guard, Spanish-American War; secretary, State senate, 1905–7 and 1909–11; judge of the criminal court of record, Walton County, 1910–11; assistant attorney general, 1912–19; circuit judge, seventeenth judicial circuit, 1919–25; member, State house of representatives, 1927; city attorney, Orlando, 1926–29; State supreme court commissioner, 1929–32; elected United States Senator, 1936 and 1940; died September 18, 1946.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, a Senator from the State of North Carolina; born, September 14, 1873; editor; lawyer; atteanded Raleigh Academy; graduate, Wake Forest College, 1893; editor, Biblical Recorder, 1893–1907; member, State board of agriculture, 1896–1900; Presidential elector, 1908; collector of internal revenue, 1913–21; member, constitutional commission, 1915; trustee, University of North Carolina, 1930; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died December 15, 1946.

THEODORE GILMORE BILBO, a Senator from the State of Mississippi; born, October 13, 1877; attended Peabody College at Nashville, Tenn.; Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; and the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor; lawyer and farmer; member of the State senate, 1908–12; served as Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi, 1912–16, and as Governor, 1916–20 and 1928–32; elected United States Senator, 1934, 1940, and 1946; died August 21, 1947.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Brooks].

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, memorial services are traditional in America. There are many ways of conducting them. But this service is indeed unique.

We are honored to participate as representatives of the 48 States of the Union as we meet by our own resolve to pay tribute to the lives, the works, and the memory of our former associates and colleagues who have answered the roll call of eternity.

While we do this by our own motion, in a truer sense we do so under the influence of feelings in which the whole family of Americans unites with us.

While we pay our humble tribute to the revered memory of these former Members, colleagues, and associates, as individuals we pay special tribute to their endeavors and their contributions to the preservation of our Republic and the advancement of human rights under our form of government.

Progress is not automatic; the world grows better because people wish that it should and because they take the right steps to make it better.

In this forum—this truly deliberative body—these men came representing their various States and constituencies to participate and play their full part in hammering out on the anvil of consultation and public debate the legislative enactments that would help steer our ship of state ever onward and forward to fulfill its destiny among the governments of the earth.

In this all-important and arduous task they gave their all and at the end of their life's endeavor, standing at the top

of the ladder, they handed on to us our great responsibility and stepped across the great divide.

By those who knew each of them intimately and well, no doubt an individual tribute could be paid that would live as a bit of romantic literature, but I was a junior in this honored body when most of them had passed on life's highway, that stone which marked the highest point. They had climbed the heights and left petty superstitions far below, while on their foreheads fell the golden dawning of a grander day.

Coinciding with the glorious history of our beloved country is the history of the Senate of the United States. Each page of that history records the endeavor, accomplishments, and occasionally the death of an illustrious man. Each era has been both important and strenuous, but in my humble judgment no period in all our history has been more exacting and demanding of human energy than the short span of years in which these honored representatives of their respective States actually laid their lives on the altar of service to their State and Nation.

These men with their varying viewpoints, with their peculiar backgrounds of education, interests, and training, representing their particular political philosophies, made their magnificent individual contributions to the inspiration, courage, and strength of present-day America.

These honored men carried into this forum their talents of determination representing the varying views that not only occasioned the birth of our beloved country, but guarantees its future existence not only as a free country for Americans, but the hope of the freedom-loving people of the entire world.

Throughout their lifetime, countless individuals were the beneficiaries of their works, and America is likewise the real beneficiary of their good deeds. On such an occasion, I labor only for words to do justice to your feelings and mine.

Words of any one individual are inadequate to fully express on an occasion of this kind the thoughts and emotions

many may feel. Each of us in varying degrees learned to know and respect the individuals whose memory we honor today. With this fully in mind may it not be said that we, the Members of the Senate of the United States who are assembled here today, cherish and honor the memory of our colleagues who have gone to meet their Maker.

They left us singly and in the sad succession appointed by the order of nature; but having lived, acted, and counseled with us, we honor them together today.

During their long careers of duty, forgetting the little that had divided them, and cherishing the great communion of service, they walked in honorable friendship the declining pathway of age.

No martial music, no blare of trumpets, no great parade, summoned these men either to their outstanding service or to their graves, but they were fighters just the same for the cause they represented. Each, in his own way, was a champion of the cause he believed best for his country.

We respect them for their undaunted courage, the energy and devotion with which they marched along the long rugged road of duty.

We miss them, but we know that while they no longer answer the roll call in this historic Chamber, they answer that longer roll call that contains the names of heroic men who served and died that America might be and continue to be a Government of free men devoted to liberty, to justice, and to God.

Solo, Beautiful Isle of Somewhere—Ferris—by Robert C. Nicholson, accompanied at the piano by William Watkins.

BEAUTIFUL ISLE OF SOMEWHERE

Somewhere the sun is shining,
Somewhere the songbirds dwell.
Hush then thy sad repining,
God lives and all is well.
Somewhere the day is longer,
Somewhere the task is done.
Somewhere the heart is stronger,
Somewhere the guerdon won.

Somewhere the load is lifted,
Close by an open gate.
Somewhere the clouds are rifted,
Somewhere the angels wait.
(Chorus)
Somewhere, somewhere, beautiful isle of somewhere.
Land of the true, where we live anew,
Beautiful isle of somewhere!

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Hoey].

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, life is real and likewise mystical. The high estate of man's creation makes him a little lower than the angels and gives him dominion over all other created and elemental things. He is the inheritor of all the past ages. From the dusty pages of antiquity the progress of man has been illuminating the processes of life over the long centuries. Into the real life of today has been projected the mystical life of tomorrow. Immortality begins on earth. The struggle of man has been to build an enduring civilization here and to adorn it with the revealed and discovered truths of God. The search of man has been for truth, and in his quest for its attainment he has mastered much of the universe and made it subservient to his imperial will.

The majestic passages in the first chapter of Genesis describing the origin of man stamp him with the image of his Creator and crown him with honor and glory, and then the stately steppings of that graphic portrayal of his possibilities accord to him unquestioned dominion over the fowls of the air, the beasts of the field, and the fish of the sea, including all things passing through the paths of the sea. Man has marvelously attained this dominion and fulfilled this prophecy. He has gone deeper down into the sea than any fish has dared to go. He has soared higher into the air than the eagle, the king of birds, has been able to ascend—and he has gone into the stratosphere to join the celestial bodies as they float out through illimitable space.

Man speaks and his voice can be heard around the world, whereas the explosions of nature can be heard for only a few hundred miles, at best. The hurricane roars across the surface of the earth at 150 miles an hour, but man speeds along at 400 miles an hour and travels through space in a ship of his own creation at 800 to 1,000 miles an hour. Man measures the distance of the sun, moon, and stars, and counts and measures the circumference of the constellations in the sky. When Halley's comet skirts across our horizon at a terrific rate of speed, man calculates within a few seconds the time when that swift traveler will return after it has rambled through unexplored space along its charted course for 75 years.

Man has only recently split the atom and released the force and power of the universe. But the atom is not dangerous. Only man is dangerous.

But there is appointed a time for man to die. There is something majestic about death. Its very universality makes it a dreaded visitor in the homes of kings and subjects, presidents and citizens, rich and poor, white and colored, around the whole world. It levels all rank and makes a common denominator of all men. Sickness and death are not the tragedies of life; they are only the sadnesses. The age-old question propounded in the Book of Job, "If a man die, shall he live again," is affirmatively answered by the faith of man in immortality, and all nature shares that faith as it experiences a beautiful resurrection each springtime from the death of winter.

Edmund Burke said that civilization was a covenant between the dead, the living, and the unborn. What do we mean by civilization? It encompasses everything. The fields and farms, the factories and shops, the business houses and homes, the skyscrapers and humble cottages, the railroads, automobiles, and airplanes, the telephones, telegraph and radios, the churches, synagogues, and cathedrals, the schools, colleges, and universities, the games, sports, and recreational

centers, the graveyards, cemeteries, and mausoleums—all of these and more constitute American civilization.

Deep in the consciousness of our civilization is the stalwart figure of the early settler and pioneer who came to our shores seeking liberty and freedom, and who dared to visualize a land where a man could worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and where none could molest or make him afraid. It also embraces the daring conception of a government where all power is lodged in the aggregate assembly of free men and women and where government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Our honored dead have given us this civilization, and our loved colleagues belonged to that immortal company of men and women who through the years labored intelligently and painstakingly to perfect this structure of a democracy that might endure and vouchsafe to us who live today, and to the unborn of tomorrow, the blessings of liberty and freedom and the benign influences of justice and righteousness in government and among men.

Civilization also encompasses the indescribably sacred picture of a mother bending over the bed of her offspring at eventide to hear it lisp the name of God in the simple prayer of childhood, "Now I lay me down to sleep."

The supreme sacrifice by which men die for their country and fellow men becomes a part of our civilization. In all wars, and particularly in the recent one, heroic souls have joined the immortals of earth in selfless death that liberty might endure and that peace might be possible. Only one illustration shall suffice. When one our our oil tankers was torpedoed in the Pacific and the commanding officer and his crew escaped the flaming boat, it appeared that the lifeboats were overloaded, whereupon the gallant lieutenant said, "We must leave the lifeboats for the injured," and immediately dived overboard into the surging sea, followed by 15 of his heroic men. Only 3 of them were ever seen again. They were swallowed up by the angry waves, and they had only the

ocean for a sepulchre; but they left a trail of glory that time cannot efface.

At the same time a pharmacist mate administered tannic acid to the deep burns of the injured men to prevent their flesh from flecking off, and then visited another boat for the same purpose, and while swimming to a third boat became exhausted and went down, never to come up again; but there was the dew of immortality upon his brow and the radiance of heaven illuminating his watery grave.

Our illustrious colleagues in whose honor we assemble today belong in the category of those who served during those days of stress and crises, and they are among the casualties of war. They died gloriously in the service of their country. Eight of our comrades have passed away since the close of the war. They participated in the debates on the momentous issues determined in this greatest world forum of thought and action. They had a share in all of the history-making legislation enacted preceding and during the war years. They gave unstintingly of their time and efforts in behalf of our victory at arms and in furtherance of the cause of peace. We pause today to pay homage to their memories. Their colleagues who survive and still serve here will pay just tribute by the written word to them individually and thus preserve for posterity a record of their illustrious service and achievements. The youngest died in his sixty-fifth year and the oldest had passed his eighty-eighth milepost. Reasonably long life was vouchsafed to each of them ere the "silver cord was loosed or the golden bowl broken." In saluting their memory, I feel that they were able to join Byron in telling Death, that omnipotent tyrant, to his everlasting face that he possessed no sting, and in challenging the grave, his sleepless handmaiden to dare proclaim a victory. May God rest their souls.

The high obligation of this hour remains with us who still live and serve here to preserve the heritage of our civilition for the benefit of those now living and for the unborn

to follow after us. The days may be dark and the future clouded with many unhappy prospects; but if we are worthy of those who have gone before, we shall not falter in meeting the responsibilities of the times and underwriting the guaranties of liberty, freedom, and peace for the tomorrows.

These days call for high thinking, noble action, and unselfish dedication to the ideals of the Republic and to the spiritual verities which shall always be a source of strength and power in every crisis. It is well to remember that there has never been a night dark enough to put out the stars and that amid all the confusion, strife, and chaos extant in the earth, still this is my Father's world. Speaking of this atomic age, Walter Lippmann recently said, "Now the whole structure of our intellectual life must undergo a cleansing and reformation." Winston Churchill said about the same time, "Man must have a new heart." The great prophet Isaiah offered the solution more than 2,500 years ago when he wrote:

> They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.

Everything is not gloom and pessimism. War is not inevitable, peace is not impossible. There is more of human sympathy than the world has known before, and divine compassion is as inexhaustible as the measure of God's love. America has opened wide her heart and delved deep into her treasure to relieve the suffering and want of the hungry and starving of the world—both friend and foe.

We have in a practical way voiced our concern for the devastated nations of earth, and we have known no race or clime. Our American ideals have found expression in the fullness of our generosity and the breadth of our sympathy at home and abroad. All faiths and creeds give expression in song and story to our conception of the universality of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

It was a Catholic who wrote, Lead Kindly Light; it was a Baptist who wrote, "Amazing Grace, how sweet the sound, that saved a wretch like me"; it was a Presbyterian who wrote "Rock of Ages, cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee"; it was Martin Luther, the founder of the Lutheran Church, who wrote, "A mighty fortress is our God, a bulwark never failing"; it was a Methodist who wrote, "Jesus, lover of my soul, let me to thy bosom fly, while the nearer waters roll, while the tempest still is high"; it was an Episcopalian, a follower of the Church of England, who wrote, "All hail the power of Jesus' name! Let angels prostrate fall; bring forth the royal diadem, and crown Him Lord of all"; it was a Jew who wrote:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Thus speaking the universal language of mankind, voicing the hopes and the aspirations of the human heart.

"Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing:
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King."

Taps by Sgt. Chris G. Stergiou, United States Marine Corps.

Dr. Braskamp pronounced the following benediction:

"The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift upon you His countenance and give you peace. Amen."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the terms of Senate Resolution 212, as a further mark of respect to the memories of the deceased Senators, the Senate stands adjourned until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 22, 1948, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Memorial Addresses
in the
United States Senate

Memorial Addresses

Address by Senator Byrd

Of Virginia

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, books have been written on the life and career of CARTER GLASS of Virginia. They may be found in virtually every library of this broad country. His deeds of public service are documented in the archives of his State and Nation. His great achievements already have taken their position in our history.

His record as an American and a statesman speaks for itself, and I do not presume that anything I could say would add to its brilliance. At this time and place I would prefer to think of Senator GLASS as a man who was my friend. Memory of my friendship with him is among my most cherished possessions, and I shall be eternally grateful for the privilege of fellowship with this wonderful man in whom nature truly succeeded.

We who knew him are better citizens for the acquaintance, for he surely was one of the great Americans of his time—a copy of none, but the personification of the dignity of the individual.

He was the freest man I ever knew. His fine talent sprang from a great soul, and his tender heart was the only limitation upon his independence. Without exaggeration he was the most beloved Member of the Senate of the United States.

He was a man whose work in Congress brought from President Wilson an expression of hope that the whole country appreciates the work you have done at something like its real value. He was always a leader among his friends, and none respected him more than his adversaries.

He was a man to whom family, home, church, State, country, and democracy were words of magnificent virtue. In millions of homes throughout America his name stood for the highest type of political official—a gentleman unafraid; a statesman whose life and character inspired those who still believed a man could be elected and reelected to public office and remain true to his character, convictions, and patriotic impulses in the discharge of public duty.

He was a man of capacity and perseverance characteristic of those who have made this Nation great. With little formal education, he was described by a great educator at an ancient college as a man who had reached a position of distinction and eminence which placed him above the powers of others either to add to his honor or detract from his fame.

He was a man of great and varied achievements and yet, in the words of a colleague in the Senate, his greatest contribution probably was his example to youth—his example of idealism, devotion to duty, and mental and spiritual morality. His character, I know, was carved out of the unblemished granite of truth and loyalty and sincerity. His were a private life and a public career which we may proudly hold up for emulation and tribute by our children for generations to come.

These are some of the characteristics which stimulated my admiration for my friend CARTER GLASS. My admiration was exceeded only by my love and devotion for him. I can think of my close and intimate association with him only with deep emotion. I cannot recall even a short period in his presence which was not an inspiration.

Virginia—his State, and mine—has committed many great men to the service of their country, and CARTER GLASS has a high place among them. His stature will grow even greater with the passing of time.

His State honored him time and again with public office; President Wilson honored him with appointment to his Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury; the Senate of the United

States honored him with election as its President pro tempore; his home district honored him with repeated election to Congress; his city honored him with local office; his State senatorial district honored him with election to the Virginia General Assembly; he was honored as a leader in the State's constitutional convention of 1901; the Democratic Party in Virginia twice honored him with endorsement as its choice for President of the United States. And, he honored all of them by his unfailing discharge of public trust.

Yet, with all of the honor won by his high accomplishments and distinguished service to State and Nation, I am sure that the source of his greatest satisfaction was the love and confidence of his own people in Virginia, and especially his neighbors in Lynchburg where he was born in 1858, and his associates on the newspapers which he published there. He knew the fiber of these Virginians for he had known the hardships of their families. He had seen his beloved Virginia recover from the ravages of civil war which had been fought over its fertile lands, and he worked with his neighbors and constituents in the reconstruction of their lives and homes.

From his experiences of the reconstruction era, in some respects more terrible than war itself, I believe, came the capacity for straight thinking and progressive and fearless leadership for which Senator GLASS became known in every quarter of the country.

He had his critics, but even when they disagreed they never accused him of serving any motive save that which he thought was best for his country and his countrymen. And, while his forthrightness frequently caused criticism to be concentrated, he was never long without vindication. This was true in his fight for the Federal Reserve Act. It was true in his advocacy of Wilson's new freedom. It was true with his demand for stock control, the predecessor of the Securities and Exchange Act. It was true throughout his long and useful career.

In many cases costly national mistakes would have been averted if his judgment had been followed in the first instance, for he possessed insight which made him rebel against those things detrimental to his Nation and its citizens. He proved the paradox that one can be a great liberal and a great conservative at the same time.

He was a liberal who always favored improvement of the Nation's economic and political life, yet he was a conservative who was unwilling to advocate impracticable measures having political expediency as their primary objective and waste and extravagance as their inherent characteristics. He was a liberal who opposed concentration of power. He was a conservative who fought to conserve for the States those powers and rights which are properly theirs. He was a liberal who demanded freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of religion for all regardless of their political or religious views. He was a conservative who did not hesitate to defend fundamental rights of individuals when they were endangered by packed courts, who did not hesitate to denounce every effort to reduce the legislative body to dependency upon the executive.

Some of his more recent critics called him reactionary, but they were indulging merely in name-calling, for Senator GLASS was fighting entrenched privilege and greed almost before they were born. Those who knew him best knew he was always fighting for constructive progress consistent with his philosophy that true liberalism worthy of the name must be based upon conservative fiscal policies.

As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee he worked heroically toward this end. That his efforts for economy were largely unsuccessful was no fault of his, but here again vindication is forthcoming.

As his friend and colleague, I rededicate myself today to the great principles for which he stood so valiantly at all times. He was surely a great patriot who, with his eloquent

wisdom, fought a full lifetime to preserve the doctrine laid down by his Virginia predecessors:

> That no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

Such a man indeed was CARTER GLASS—worthy of all veneration by the Senate of the United States assembled, and by his fellow countrymen everywhere. Yet, if he were here he would be genuinely embarrassed by our praise of his integrity, independence, and courage. With typical humility he said he regarded these traits as virtues of the common man. "In all my life, day in and day out," he said on one occasion, "I have never done anything but what I would expect and what should be expected of the average man of good sense and good character."

That is the challenge he has left with us and, as we pause here in his memory, I know he would have us reflect upon it.

We who would serve our country best would truly serve his memory most.

Address by Senator Tydings

Of Maryland

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, Senator CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, was one of the most eminent statesmen of his day and time. He served the Government in many high positions. In every position of service his fine character, intellectual integrity, far-seeing statesmanship, and wise counsel were outstanding.

It is difficult to add to the luster of a State so rich in the history of our country as is Virginia. Yet Senator GLASS, by his many contributions to the progress of our Nation, gave to Virginia an added greatness. He loved his country and realized its great power and influence for good in world affairs. No narrow horizons limited his vision. He saw with uncanny accuracy the likely unfolding of world events and threw his great vision and statesmanship into the struggle to bring his own countrymen and men and women everywhere a chance for peace and prosperity on a world-wide scale.

His convictions were founded upon deep thought. Compromises were not a part of his nature. He began and ended his great career with the same basic philosophy of government. The illustrious son of a noble State, beloved by millions of his countrymen, he wrote a chapter of personal accomplishment in his Nation's history which will endure for all time.

Address by Senator Robertson

Of Virginia

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, our acting chaplain in a beautiful and lovely prayer has just asked that God, in this crisis, raise up world leaders among us. I rise to pay tribute to a world leader that God once gave us, who is no longer with us, but whose memory I hope will ever remain fresh in the minds and hearts of his former colleagues.

As the present occupant of the seat which the late CARTER GLASS occupied for more than a quarter of a century in the Senate of the United States, I approach with humbleness the task of eulogizing my illustrious predecessor.

I realize full well that I cannot add to or subtract from his place in the history of our Nation or the esteem and affection in which he was held by those who knew him. He was literally showered with honors while yet alive. By act of Congress a special coin bearing his likeness was issued by the United States Treasury. A plaque acknowledging his contribution to the establishment of the Federal Reserve System became a permanent part of the vestibule of the marble building which houses its Board of Governors. Portraits and busts by eminent artists were set up in various places to commemorate his work. A building at Harvard University bears his name. A chair of political science at Sweet Briar College was founded in his honor. Although his own formal education stopped at the age of thirteen, colleges and universities throughout the Nation honored him with degrees and medals and foreign governments added ribbons and citations.

But, it is not primarily in these material manifestations that the memory of CARTER GLASS lives on. It may be said of him as Pericles said of the young men of Athens:

> So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it

the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.

I shall not attempt to duplicate the work of biographers who have recorded the incidents of the life of CARTER GLASS covering the long period from his birth in Lynchburg, Va., on January 5, 1858, until his death here in Washington on May 28, 1946. I shall not attempt to measure the impact on him of such events as secession, the War Between the States, the tragic era of reconstruction, industrial expansion in the East and the building of railroads to the great empire of the West, the Spanish-American War, emergence of the United States as a world power, his associations with William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson, World War I, the depression, and the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and, finally World War II.

Nor shall I attempt to assess his own influence on events during his period of public service as a local official, State senator, member of his State's constitutional convention, Member of the House of Representatives, member of platform committees of party conventions, Secretary of the Treasury and finally, Member and President pro tempore of the United States Senate, while concurrently he wielded his influence as a newspaper publisher.

As our mutual friend, the Honorable Lindsay Almond, of Roanoke, Va., said at the convention which nominated me to succeed CARTER GLASS, his contribution—

> Was not of the material, but of the immaterial, not of the flesh but of the spirit. It was his moral courage, his intellectual integrity, his absolute disregard of and contempt for the political consequences of the course of action upon which conscience and conviction had impelled him to embark that was his greatest contribution to his State and country.

As was well said in a resolution adopted by that convention:

His strength of character, honesty of purpose, nobility of soul, courage of conviction, forensic power, sanity of judgment, tenacity of principle, depth of ethical concept, political and personal integrity, devotion to duty, loyalty to friendship, love for his country, and unwavering fealty to his God, will ever stand as the bulwarks of his greatness, the vehicles of his accomplishment, and as a perpetual monument to his memory.

I might quote from Mr. GLASS' own first speech as a Member of the House of Representatives, and say of him as he then said of his late colleague, Representative John F. Rixey, of the Eighth Virginia District:

Nobody better understood and no life has more surely conformed to, that philosophy which teaches that well-being of the soul depends only on what we are and that nobleness of character is nothing else but the love of good and the scorn of evil.

All of this, of course, would embarrass CARTER GLASS if he were alive today, since he once said:

I am genuinely embarrassed by being praised for such things as integrity, independence, and courage. I regard those as virtues of the common man. In all my life, day in and day out, I have never done anything but what I would expect and what would be expected of the average man of good sense and good character.

On this and many other occasions he exhibited a modesty that is an essential ingredient of the product we call "true greatness."

There was, for example, the letter he wrote in acknowledgment of the information that his brother, E. C. Glass, would be elected to the Virginia Board of Education, in which he said:

I frequently think of the inequalities of this life. This finds no better illustration than in the fact that Ned Glass, with infinitely more culture, learning and real ability than I, with vastly more real work to his credit, has given 40 years of his life to Virginia at a comparatively paltry wage, whereas the Commonwealth has loaded me with distinctions which he might more properly have received. The only compensation I can think of for such inequalities is the fact that my brother's work has been of a more enduring nature

than mine and will be remembered by succeeding generations long after I shall have been forgotten.

And no one can better appreciate than I that tribute to his brother because it was my happy privilege to attend for 6 years the public schools of Lynchburg which he headed.

This modesty about his own abilities doubtless contributed to the fact that in his case offices literally sought the man rather than the man the office.

He was drafted for a seat in the Virginia Senate, was virtually pushed by friends into the State constitutional convention, was first elected to the House of Representatives while hospitalized outside of his State, and after once being defeated for the United States Senate was appointed to this body and was returned thereafter throughout his lifetime without opposition within his party.

His political fights were for party and for principle and for candidates other than himself. The speeches by which he is best remembered were on behalf of suffrage reform in Virginia, national currency and banking reforms, sanity in national fiscal affairs, vigorous prosecution of wars, and integrity of the courts. The campaigns in which he spoke most emphatically were for the election of Woodrow Wilson, Alfred E. Smith, and Franklin Roosevelt as President and for Harry Byrd as Governor of Virginia.

But it never was through compromise with his conscience or surrender of convictions that he maintained his place in public life.

He was dubbed "The Unreconstructed Rebel" by Franklin Roosevelt after refusing the post of Secretary of the Treasury for a second time because he could not subscribe to the financial policies of the President. He adopted as his own the creed of Senator Lucius Q. C. Lamarr, of Mississippi, who in 1879 advised the Senate of his intention to cast his vote

in defiance of instructions from the legislature of his State, explaining:

Even in this hour of their legislative displeasure and disapprobation I cannot vote as these resolutions direct. I cannot and will not shirk the responsibility which my position imposes. My duty, as I see it I will do, and I will vote against this bill. When this is done, my responsibility is ended. My reasons for my vote will be given to my people. Then it will be for them to determine if adherence to my honest convictions has disqualified me from representing them; whether a difference of opinion upon a difficult and complicated subject to which I have given patient, long-continued, conscientious study, to which I have brought entire honesty and singleness of purpose, and upon which I have spent whatever ability God has given me, is now to separate us.

In addition to citing these words from Senator Lamarr's speech, CARTER GLASS emphasized his own philosophy in the statement:

I have a distinct distaste for a modern-day phrase "public servant." To me it was never intended to mean abject subservience to the public will, however uninformed or misdirected. I prefer to think of a United States Senator as a representative of the sovereignty of his State and subject every moment of his service to the promptings of his conscience and the preservation of his own intellectual integrity. He has no moral right to sacrifice either to the clamor of the multitude or to the decree of "titled consequence" wherever it may be enthroned. Long ago I learned—indeed I did not have to learn; it is a self-evident proposition—that the public man who permits himself to pause long enough to inquire whether a thing is popular or unpopular, instead of seeking to know whether it is right or wrong, is not only useless, but dangerous to his country. He is a coward to begin with and a menace always.

Espousing such principles, CARTER GLASS stated his convictions in a forceful manner that was a joy to those who agreed with him and a terror to his opponents. The specific questions which he discussed are not before us today, but some of the same problems are involved and, at this critical time in our history, I think there is something more important for

us to do than merely to recall the career of this former Virginian. It will help us to remember his political philosophy.

In World War I, when German submarines were sinking our unarmed merchant ships, he abhorred appeasement. In advocating the arming of our merchant marine he said:

I want the people of Virginia to know that I oppose any surrender, actually or implicitly, of any vital American right merely to propitiate a war-mad foreign nation, which already has strewn the seas with the dead bodies of helpless American victims. I want them to know that I have no absolution for such a crime; that I stand for full reparation and ample security, and am utterly opposed to the suggested interference of Congress with the diplomatic functions of the President.

I want them to know that I should despise myself for a vote cast here to warn American citizens that they must travel the free waters of the globe in merchant ships at their own peril, without their country's protection. I want them to know I would tear to tatters my commission as a Member of the House of Representatives could I imagine that the people of Virginia would have to do a thing so repugnant to my sense of national honor and so at variance with my conception of national self-respect.

And there are some things worse than war. Virginia has homes that might be desolated and mothers who might be distressed and sons who might be sacrificed. But I pray God that the mothers and sons of Virginia who live appreciate their heritage from those who, "being dead, yet speaketh." Two of Virginia's boys are my own—stalwart, manly fellows, for either of whom I would die a thousand times—and I would have them hear me say, without a tremor, in the spirit which I hope animates their hearts, that I would rather be pursued through time and eternity by the pitiful apparition of their shattered forms than to see my country dishonored and its flag hauled down in disgrace.

On two great questions, the rights of the States and public spending, he took strongly the position of Mr. Jefferson, which some people would call conservative, but which he considered truly liberal, and he often denounced so-called liberals who were liberal only with other people's rights and other people's money.

He adhered strictly to the view that our Federal Government was a government of delegated powers, expressly stated

in the Constitution, and that all others were reserved to the States. He was shocked when alive and would be inexpressibly more so today at the proposal to have the Federal Government assume control and regulation over all election laws and qualifications, public education, civil rights, and police protection in the States.

When he was Secretary of the Treasury, this is what he had to say about deficit financing and public spending, in his report to the Congress after the close of World War I, and I think these words are prophetic:

All sense of values seems to have departed from among us. The departments, bureaus, and boards, all inspired by a laudable enthusiasm for their work, but some by a less laudable instinct to magnify its importance, bombard the committees of Congress with projects, some more or less meritorious, some of no merit whatever, but all conceived in sublime indifference to the facts that the great business of Government is being run at a loss and that each one of these projects increases the deficit of the Government and consequently the burden to be thrown upon the great body of people, whether the deficit be met by increasing taxes or by floating additional loans. For no fallacy is more grotesque than the assumption that by issuing bonds or notes or certificates of indebtedness now we may pass on to future generations the burden of our own extravagance. The burden of these issues will have to be met today, not only in the interest and sinking-fund charges added to an already heavy load, but in the expansion of credit which is inevitable as a result of the issue of such securities, constituting as they do a prime basis for additional credit in the hands of the holders, whoever they may be. I shall not elaborate upon that point, but I want to say to you in all solemnity that a hundred million American people will pay for the extravagance of the Government, whether that extravagance finds its incidence in governmental waste or in the desire to accomplish real or fancied benefits for a portion of the community.

Let us now get back to bedrock. Let us remember that there can be no spending by the Government without paying by the Government, and that the Government cannot pay except out of the pockets of the people. Let us remember, too, that in the last analysis taxes and the cost of Government loans are borne by 100,000,000 people. The burden of taxation, the burden of credit expansion is inevitably shifted to the whole people of the United

States. Some methods of finance are better than others. Some taxes are less readily adapted to being shifted from the backs of the people as a whole; but in the long run the burden of governmental waste and extravagance falls more heavily upon the poor than upon the well-to-do and more heavily upon the well-to-do than upon the rich. By graduated income taxes we tend to mitigate this consequence, but we cannot wholly avoid it. Let us not fail to remember that the Government of the United States is simply a name for the people of the United States and that all of the people of the United States will pay in inverse order to their ability for extravagances of the Government perpetrated in the interest of a portion of the people or a section of the country.

In a Senate speech in 1938, CARTER GLASS said:

Perhaps I am a relic of constitutional government—I am rather inclined to think I am. I entertain what may be the misguided notion that the Constitution of the United States as it existed in the time of Grover Cleveland is the same Constitution that exists today, and that if Mr. Cleveland—

Whose veto message Senator GLASS had just read into the record—

with his clear conception and courage, could find nothing in the Constitution then which authorized appropriations for special purposes and not for the general welfare, I cannot today find anything in the Constitution warranting such action.

He also said:

The people should keep in mind that the Constitution is a set of written rules designed to control the desires of public officials. The people should realize, fully, when public officials continually propose, or continually do, unconstitutional acts, or continually inveigh against the provisions of the Constitution, that these same public officials are really seeking the destruction of constitutional government in appeasement of their own desires. Such public officials do not wish to govern—they seek to rule.

We hear much of "privilege" and "privileged classes," but I should like to remind the people there is no class more privileged than those who occupy public office. Today, by breaking down constitutional barriers, public officials in many parts of the world have succeeded in extending their privileges, making them exclusive.

I pause here to say prophetic indeed is that statement of 10 years ago in regard to public officials under the guise of

doing good things for the people acquiring the power to rule the people. Let us make no mistake, Mr. President, that could happen to us.

CARTER GLASS further said:

In their own safety, there is one privilege the people of the United States should keep for themselves. That is the privilege of final decisions, both as to legislation and administration, as well as the final decisions as to who shall legislate and administer.

He also said:

This is what Daniel Webster meant when he said: "Nothing will ruin a country if the people themselves will undertake its safety; and nothing can save a country if they leave that safety in any hands but their own."

In his radio speech in 1937 attacking the proposal to pack the Supreme Court, Senator GLASS said:

Why should we not proceed, as in honor we are bound to do, by first contriving legislation for social and economic security, painstakingly drafted by competent lawyers with a clear conception of the Constitutional prohibitions against invading the rights of business and individuals by a species of confiscation and by utter indifference for reserved powers of the States? Why should we not quit legislating by pious preambles and conform our enactments to the requirements of the Constitution and thus put upon notice the cabal of amateur experimenters that we will have no more of their trash? * * * If it then be found that we were mistaken in the expressed belief that the Constitution is ample to our purposes, let us do what we promised to do and appeal to the people to amend their supreme law. Let the impatient proponents of the pending scheme turn to the advice of George Washington in his famous Farewell Address, in which he admonished against disregarding "reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power," saying: "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation, for, though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

In concluding the same speech, Senator GLASS also quoted the statement of John Stuart Mill that—

A people may prefer a free government; but if from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it; if they can be deluded by the artifices used to cheat them out of it; if by momentary discouragement, or temporary panic or a fit of enthusiasm for an individual, they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions—in all these cases they are more or less unfit for liberty.

But CARTER GLASS was as far from a die-hard conservative as any real statesman we have had since the Civil War. On the subject of the tariff, he was almost a free-trader, and he could never understand how his colleagues and friends, Senator Norris and Senator Borah, could consider themselves progressives and liberals and vote for high protective tariff schedules that "picked the pocket of every consumer for the benefit of a chosen few." On the subject of regulation of credit controls, the national banking system, and the stock market, he was not just fully abreast of the New Deal; he was far beyond it and in front of it. The Securities and Exchange Act, one of the really progressive pieces of legislation of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations, carried out belatedly recommendations that CARTER GLASS made to the Congress when he was Secretary of the Treasury. On the subject of public power, he stood on the battle line with the late Senators Norris, of Nebraska, and Walsh, of Montana, and with them fought the Power Trust tooth and nail, over Muscle Shoals, Grand Coulee, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

After World War I, inflation reached its peak in the spring of 1920. As a member of the platform committee of the Democratic convention of that year, Senator GLASS prepared and secured the adoption of this plank:

The * * * high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict government economy, and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of postwar conditions.

Mr. President, I feel that his spirit is right here today. I feel that he is telling us today, "If you will economize in your Government expenditures, if all will join together to increase production, and if those who are chiseling and those who are cheating and those who are making unfair profits will be relentlessly pursued, we can meet the threat of inflation."

That is the reason, Mr. President, I have today invited the attention of the Senate not to what CARTER GLASS did, not so much to the honors which were conferred upon him, but to the fundamental principles for which he stood, which are as true today as they were when he spoke them, 10, 15, or 25 years ago.

He believed in public as well as personal frugality. As a boy he marked in one of his father's books these words from Jefferson's first inaugural speech:

> Economy in public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened;
> The payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith;
> I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not the multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing by every device, the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

Those words, uttered by Jefferson more than a hundred years ago, were marked by little CARTER GLASS in his father's book, before he ever dreamed he would have the privilege of administering the great financial agency of this Government, before he ever dreamed he would have the privilege of sitting in the greatest legislative body in the world and making a living reality those fundamental truths which he had imbibed in his boyhood, from his father's library in the city of Lynchburg.

Between the surrender of Lee at Appomattox and the destruction of Hitler's war machine in World War II, CARTER GLASS was able to say with Ulysses of old: "Many things have I seen, a part of which I was."

We see him first, a barefoot boy of five, standing solemnly and awe-strickenly on the bridge of the James River with his fellow townspeople on a beautiful May day in 1863 as the old packetboat *John Marshall* passes down the canal, carrying all the mortal remains in a flag-draped coffin on its deck of the great Stonewall Jackson, hero of Manassas, Chancellorsville, and the valley campaigns. We see him last, the great statesman, author, and defender of the Federal Reserve Act, Secretary of the Treasury, senior United States Senator from Virginia, and President pro tempore of this body, broken in health but not in spirit, awaiting the summons from his Maker to lay down the noble sword of his endeavors and come into the portals of everlasting peace. And as one who both loved and feared his Maker and through the stress and strain of critical years had demonstrated that a Christian life is not incompatible with a successful political career, he, at the time of passing, was able to say, in the dying words of Stonewall Jackson, "Let us cross over the river and rest in the shade of the trees."

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *May 28, 1946.*

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, it is with profound sorrow that I announce to the Senate the passing of the senior Senator from Virginia, my beloved colleague, Senator CARTER GLASS.

He was one of the outstanding Americans of this generation. This is not the occasion to recall in detail the great services that Senator GLASS has rendered Virginia and his country during a public life of nearly 50 years. I shall not attempt now to analyze or measure the value of his public service, the strength and brightness of his intellect, the aptness and assurance of his mind, the sharpness and brilliance of his wit. His character, carved out of unblemished granite, was composed of truth and loyalty and sincerity that hates deceit and detests a lie. In the soul and brain of his dynamic personality were forged at white heat the clear conviction on politics and life that Senator GLASS refused to compromise.

This businessman, who accepted public office after he was 40, served for years in the House of Representatives before he made a major speech. He then spoke without interruption for 5 hours on the Federal banking system, of which he was the father, and became one of the outstanding orators of America.

Beginning his public career as clerk of the City Council of Lynchburg, he was drafted to represent his district in the State Senate of Virginia; was a leader and a very notable figure in the Virginia State Constitutional Convention of 1901; was elected and reelected to the National House of Representatives; twice endorsed for the Presidency of the United States by the Virginia Democracy; elected and reelected to the Senate of the United States, of which he was one of the most beloved and respected Members.

His long career in the representation of Virginia has been interrupted only once in half a century, when he resigned from Congress to serve with great distinction as Secretary of the Treasury and as intimate adviser of his close friend, Woodrow Wilson.

A great educator, in awarding Mr. GLASS the highest honor of an ancient college not long ago, said:

> You have reached a position of distinction and eminence which has placed you above the power of others either to add to your honor or to detract from your fame.

For myself, I feel the deepest personal sorrow. Senator GLASS and I have been intimately associated for many years. I have been his close and devoted friend and he has been mine. I shall never cease to be eternally grateful for the privilege of being his colleague in the representation of Virginia in the Senate of the United States. Virginia, in her history, has contributed some great men to this body, but Senator GLASS was Virginia's outstanding Senator and will remain so, I predict, for many generations to come.

My admiration for him was only exceeded by my love and devotion for him. Today I voice the sorrow of all Virginians and express in their behalf their gratitude for his great public service.

Mr. President, I submit a resolution, and ask that the clerk may read it and that it may be considered and agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 273) and, by unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to its consideration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. CARTER GLASS, late a Senator from the State of Virginia.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate to take order for superintending the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Virginia has delivered so beautiful a tribute to Senator GLASS that I do not deem it necessary at this moment to add anything to what he has said. At a later time I shall take advantage of the opportunity to discuss the character and public service of Senator GLASS more in detail. I share the great regret and profound sorrow that not only Virginia but the country feels and the Senate especially at the death of Senator GLASS.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the late Senator from Virginia was one of the great men of this age. In rugged probity, in high honor, in deepest devotion to principle, in gallant loyalty to his country, in faithful service to his heavy public tasks, this GLASS was ever clear as crystal.

I speak for his country's love of him, I speak for the sense of profound loss which is our common and universal tribute to his memory in this sad hour.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of personal loss that I rise to pay tribute to that noble son of Virginia, an outstanding American, who has just passed away. He lived a long, full life, complete in the just fame he achieved and the great national service he rendered during the long years a merciful Providence bestowed upon him. As a newspaper editor and publisher in the community where he was born and where his friends and neighbors lived, he showed at the outset of his career the flaming independence, integrity, and courage which later carried him to the highest position of national leadership.

As chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, he piloted the far-reaching Federal Reserve Banking Act through the House, and at all times thereafter he was the valiant defender of the Federal Reserve System, giving wise counsel and guidance to its administrators.

Immediately following the First World War, he rendered distinguished service as Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of Woodrow Wilson. As United States Senator since 1920, he became one of the foremost figures ever to serve in this great body.

Mr. President, these are the bare outlines of the career of one of America's most distinguished public servants. But those who had the privilege of his friendship will remember those great qualities of CARTER GLASS for which we loved and respected him. His ability to pierce to the heart of the most complex problems, his steadfast adherence to principle, and his courage in fighting for the welfare of the American people distinguished him in all his years in the Senate. With his great abilities, he combined a deep courtesy and personal charm which endeared him to all who knew him.

The Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am chairman, owes a great debt to CARTER GLASS. During the years in which he served on that committee, his deep knowledge of banking and finance and his unusual ability to analyze the most complex problems were of immeasurable help to the committee.

In the death of CARTER GLASS, the Senate has lost one of its most beloved and distinguished Members, and the Nation has lost a great public servant. In this hour of grief, I extend my warmest sympathy to his widow and family.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I cannot let this occasion pass without saying a word.

Senator CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, was one of the finest and noblest characters with whom I have ever been associated during my life. He was the soul of truth and honor; very firm in his convictions, as we all know; determined in his actions; and animated by the highest sense of duty.

Senator GLASS and I did not always agree. Sometimes we were widely divided on issues, but he had my respect and admiration and esteem at all times, and I believe I enjoyed his.

I was associated with Senator GLASS for many years in the work of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, and he always insisted upon doing what he deemed to be fair and just and right. In all that time I never knew CARTER GLASS to do a little or a small thing. He had a big heart and a great mind.

Mr. President, I was warmly devoted to Senator GLASS; I loved him personally; I honored and respected and esteemed him as the true, genuine, upstanding, courageous man that he was. I deeply deplore his passing, and I extend to his loved ones my deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the death of Senator GLASS brings to an end a colorful, dynamic, and distinguished public career.

For more than half a century his mind, his political philosophy, and his character made definite impress upon the life of his State and upon the Nation.

As a publisher and editor, with clarity and forcefulness he made known to the people of Virginia his thoughts upon social, economic, and political problems. As a Member of the National House of Representatives, as a Senator of the United States, as Secretary of the Treasury, and as an intimate adviser of Presidents, his was never a doubting voice.

He was a positive character, sure of the rightness of his convictions, and loyal always to them.

His personal character, Mr. President, and his life were above reproach. He denounced fraud and sham with indignation and with vigor, and he fought always valiantly for the right.

Mr. President, a great public servant has gone to his rest and to his reward. With him goes the respect of the American people. We who have served with him in public life add the assurance of our affection. We extend to his widow and his family our tender and our enduring sympathy in their present great loss.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, as the distinguished Senator from Virginia, Mr. Byrd, has said, this is neither the time nor the place to pay tribute to the life and character and public service of Senator GLASS. It is only a time of sorrow, and for acknowledgment of the deep loss that not only his State, but his Nation as well, must feel today.

Time passes very rapidly. Of all the men who were occupying seats in the Senate when I entered it there are only two left. CARTER GLASS was one of the Senators representing his State with great honor and distinction at that time, and my early associations with him were most cordial. Early I learned to entertain for him a deep and genuine respect, confidence, and esteem.

In his life and in his character he instinctively turned away from all false pretense and fraud. There was no sham in his soul, and he knew there was no honor in false pretense, but he was a true servant of the principles of the Government which he loved and of the institutions of the country to which he was so deeply and unswervingly devoted.

In his last active days, when this Nation shifted back to a strong, aggressive position in a world of confusion and of coming war, he seemed to regain some of his old fire.

In a very peculiar sense, I feel the loss of this great man who for so many years was a pillar of strength in this body. During his last illness he has been my next-door neighbor, and through these nearly 4 years I have had occasion to see how uncomplaining he was, and with what courage and fortitude he faced the inevitable summons, as he had faced all the problems of life, personal and official.

CARTER GLASS will be justly included among that large number of illustrious and distinguished names given this country by his beloved State.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Virginia.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will state that the committee provided for in the resolution will be announced later.

Mr. BYRD. As a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator from Virginia, I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 21 minutes a. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 29, 1946, at 11 o'clock a. m.

WEDNESDAY, *May 29, 1946.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under authority of Senate Resolution 273, the Chair appoints as members of the committee to attend the funeral of the late Senator from Virginia, Mr. GLASS, the Senator from Virginia, Mr. Byrd; the Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Barkley; the Senator from Maine, Mr. White; the Senator from Tennessee, Mr. McKellar; the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. Hatch; the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. La Follette; the Senator from Montana, Mr. Wheeler; the Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Bridges; the Senator from New York, Mr. Wagner; the Senator from Georgia, Mr. Russell; the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Shipstead; and the Senator from Nebraska, Mr. Wherry.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. CARTER GLASS, late a Senator from the State of Virginia.

THURSDAY, *June 13, 1946.*

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Record a remarkably fine edi-

torial, published in the Lynchburg News, regarding the public service and life of the late Senator GLASS.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CARTER GLASS

CARTER GLASS has pride in being the author of the Federal Reserve Act, one of the greatest constructive pieces of legislation of the twentieth century, and which proved a veritable financial rock during the First World War. He won the respect of the world of finance for his services as Secretary of the Treasury, under Woodrow Wilson, especially by his brilliant handling of the successful Victory Loan after the war's close. He accounts as his greatest service to Virginia his part in framing the present constitution of Virginia in company with a most distinguished body of Virginians in the convention of 1901–2.

Though lacking the platform presence, the imposing personality, and the sonorous voice usually associated with the typical orator, CARTER GLASS could make a speech that aroused enthusiasm, stirred the emotions, and appealed to the intelligence of his audiences. He was equally at home at a political rally, on the floor of Congress, in the presence of a small group of specialists, as a layman addressing the congregation of his church. Though he disliked speech-making and approached each appearance in that role with reluctance and some trepidation, remaining silent in the House of Representatives for his first 10 years, he soon forgot himself in the fervor of his cause or the indignation of outraged justice. The secret? Conviction and character, fire and elan. And knowledge of whereof he spoke. He had informed himself, or he held his tongue. The speech that routed the congressional foes of his Federal Reserve bill, his defense of sound money in his 1932 sickbed speech of the first Roosevelt campaign, his half raging, half contemptuous, wholly righteous excoriation of the attempt to pack the Supreme Court, were three of the greatest forensic efforts of his time.

As a polemical writer he had no superior and few equals. His style was clear, concise, forceful, bolstered by allusions gathered from life and literature. When aroused he was without mercy until the controversy was ended.

None of these constructive legislative and executive efforts and none of these platform triumphs was CARTER GLASS' greatest contribution to his beloved State and his beloved country. His greatest contribution was his moral courage, his intellectual integrity, his absolute disregard of and contempt for the political conse-

quences of the course of action upon which his mind and his conscience had compelled him to embark. There was no power on earth that could swerve him from that course. There was no pressure that could be applied that had other result than to confirm him the more in it. A firm believer in the American form of democratic republicanism, he could accept the decision of the people, but his own decision was for him to make. He regarded himself as a representative of the people but his opinions were his own to form, leaving to the people who elected him the choice of sustaining or repudiating his political judgments and his political actions. If they liked those judgments and those actions they could return him to office, and he was glad, but if they didn't like them they could choose another, and he would have no regrets.

It was these characteristics that were the admiration of his peers in the halls of legislation and the envy of the timid and the trimmer. It was these characteristics that endeared him to his people even when they disagreed with him, sometimes violently. It was these characteristics that sent him to Virginia legislature and convention, to the House of Representatives, to the Senate of the United States, that dictated his choice as Secretary of the Treasury. It was the memory of these characteristics which earned for him the sympathy of the people in his last years of helplessness resulting from the disabilities of age and illness, which elected him to another term in the Senate even as he stood on the threshold of lasting infirmity.

In his private life Carter Glass was blameless. In his home he was loving. To his friends he was loyal and devoted. In his dealings with his fellow men he was just and meticulously honest. His generosity was never exploited. For these things and for his public service his sometime asperities could be overlooked by those closest to him as of no moment and forgiven by others.

Carter Glass was a great Virginian, a great American. He served his people to the full extent of his great abilities, to the last fiber of strength remarkable in one whose physical build was never sturdy and who spent not a few years of his life battling nature's attacks upon his health, battling instinctively even toward the end when instinctive courage and tenacity were his only weapons. He gave. His frail body reinforced by an indomitable spirit, he gave service. He gave patriotism. He gave heart and he gave mind. When a definitive biography is written many things will be said of him, but one thing that will be said is that he stood as an example of the greater qualities of the courage, of the devotion, of the mental and spiritual qualities, of the integrity, a true statesman must have.

WEDNESDAY, *January 8, 1947*

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Record a brilliant and eloquent address delivered by Representative J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., at the Virginia State Democratic convention in Richmond on September 5, in which he paid tribute to the character and record of one of the greatest American statesmen, my late colleague, Senator CARTER GLASS.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, on the 28th day of May 1946, after a lingering illness, borne with characteristic patience and fortitude, the greatest Virginian of his day and generation answered the final mandatory summons of the only Commander in Chief his spirit and conscience ever knew. That dauntless son of Virginia, through his indomitable will the sheer power of his intellect, his impeccable concept of honor and duty, and his uncanny and constructive mastery of the science of statecraft, had written his name and fame indelibly across the scroll of the affections, esteem, and respect of the American people.

Bowing to the acknowledged supremacy of divine omniscience, the democracy of Virginia today, in convention assembled, pays tribute to him whose life and achievements epitomize an immeasurable contribution to the efficacy of representative democracy and a priceless heritage to the posterity of liberty, justice, right, and freedom—the illustrious CARTER GLASS, of Lynchburg.

Stricken with grief because of his passing, Virginians—yea, Americans everywhere—with commendable humility and reverent pride, can point with unalloyed satisfaction to the rich and constructive contribution which he so unselfishly made, on the altar of public service, to his beloved State and country.

Many voices will be raised in the halls of this convention today, tomorrow, until the sound of the chairman's gavel announces adjournment sine die.

His voice will not be among them.

His was a familiar voice. It has been heard in every Virginia Democratic convention, save one, in almost half a century. Whether raised in debate or in exhortation, in denunciation, or in eulogy, whether cool in reasoned argument, or fiery with emotion, it was listened to. It might be heeded, or its advice might be rejected, but it was listened to. There was none who could ever ignore it, or be indifferent to it.

It will not be heard again. It is stilled forever.

But it will be remembered, and the memory of it can serve. To those who pause and listen to its loud silence, the courage in that voice will give courage, the wisdom of it will give wisdom, and the devotion of it to its party will engender devotion.

Physically diminutive, intellectually a colossus—CARTER GLASS in championing the cause of right and justice in the arena of democracy possessed a heart of adamant and a soul of fire. A master of sarcasm, irony, and invective, when aroused in battle against wrong and oppression, yet his great heart pulsated with a genial warmth of friendship, compassion, sympathy, and understanding that exuded in the contagion of his personality and made him the idol of his fellowmen in all walks of life.

CARTER GLASS was a man of integrity and of courage. There was no inducement that could be offered, no pressure that could be applied, that could make him go against his conviction of right. He could accept the decision of his people at the polls with equanimity, but could not be swayed thereby from the course his mind and conscience had dictated. His own decision was for him to make and for him to follow. His own opinions were his to form, and by them he was guided. The few who attempted to influence him wrongly, to offer reward of any kind, got nothing for their temerity but his scorn and contempt, expressed as only he knew how to express them. Attempts to intimidate him were a call to battle. They succeeded only in arousing his spirit of contest to higher level.

His rapier thrusts in debate, the power of his reasoning, the clear logic and impelling force of his conclusions emanated from his masterful wielding of the flaming sword of truth which sought no quarter, gave none, and brooked no compromise with chicanery and deceit.

CARTER GLASS loved Virginia. Loving her, he served her. He did not serve intermittently; he did not serve perfunctorily. He did not serve for gain. He served all the days of his life, to the best of his ability, and for the sake of service.

He was born in Virginia. He was steeped in Virginia's history. He lived through more than half of her life as a member of this Union of States, and of some of the greatest events of her existence he could say, "A part of which I saw, a part of which I was." All his American ancestors were Virginians. In Virginia, they toiled and suffered and, in a measure, prospered. To Virginia, he owed much; to Virginia, he gave much.

CARTER GLASS loved the Democratic Party. Born as the Nation, Virginians had done so much to make great, free, and democratic,

hurtled toward civil war and the arbitrament of differences by the sword, spending his childhood in the midst of a conflict in which Virginia gave her all, growing to manhood through the days of reconstruction, he gave his allegiance to the party that rid his beloved State of the carpetbagger and the scalawag, and set it on the course that led to restoration of liberty, renewed fertility of land and industrial progress. He saw the party beaten, he saw it resurgent, he saw it in defeat and in triumph. In the evil days he suffered; in the days of victory he gloried. In all that, too, he could have said he had a part. Why should he not give to that party his allegiance? Why should he not hold faithful to that allegiance to the day he passed into the dark shadow from which his emergence was through the doors of death into that bright land in which his faith was strong and abiding?

The independence of thought, of deed and of spirit, which ally and opponent agreed was one of his great virtues, could not break that loyalty, nor dim it. His independence was manifest within the party. Deeming it essential to the welfare of the State and Nation he loved so well, and to which were given his highest loyalty, he worked for it, fought for it, and sought to make it strong. When it seemed to him to stray from the path of principle and of honest conviction, he sought with others of like mind to lead it back into the true course, but assaults from without he repelled with all his glowing faith in its eventual redemption and with all his unwavering faith in its high mission. Foes within his party he could fight, but never the party.

For he was ever confident that that party would continue to give to the Nation the great service it had been privileged to give under the great Democratic leaders whose disciple he was, with whom he is worthy to be named.

The old adage that the office should seek the man voices an aspiration rather than a reality, but the aspiration came almost to fruition in the career of CARTER GLASS. He was drafted for a seat in the Virginia Senate. He was virtually pushed by his friends into a seat in the Constitutional Convention of 1901–2, in which he played an active, aggressive and effective part. He was first elected to the House of Representatives while sick in a hospital in a far-away State, and never thereafter had any real opposition. He sought a seat in the United States Senate, and, as if fate were determined tht the record should be preserved, he was defeated. Appointed later to the Senate without any effort on his part, he was returned at every election without a contest within his party. He was tapped by President Woodrow Wilson for the post of Secretary of the Treasury while out of the country.

CARTER GLASS

It is a fact not often emphasized that the greatest political fights of this great Virginian's career were for party, for principle, for candidates other than himself. The speeches made by him that will be remembered, some of them as a part of any history of the Nation, were of this kind. In the constitutional convention they were for reform of the suffrage laws. In the House of Representatives they were for the reform of the currency and banking laws. In the Senate they were for the integrity of the courts or for more vigorous prosecution of his country's wars. In party conventions they were for Democratic Party principles, for financial sanity, for the candidate of his heart and mind for the party nomination for President. On the rostrum they were for Woodrow Wilson, for Alfred E. Smith, for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Possibly the greatest speech of his life was that delivered for the first election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the great American President who preceded him to the grave by months. Or, paradoxically, the speech he made in opposition to that President's pet project, the reorganization of the Supreme Court.

Member of the Virginia Assembly, member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, Member of the National House of Representatives, Secretary of the Treasury, Member of the Senate of the United States, this man through 50 years of public service fought and worked and strived, sometimes to the point of physical exhaustion, with an unselfishness and a lack of personal ambition rare even in the best of public servants.

These are the things that easily come to mind when the public life of Carter Glass is reviewed. These are the events and the battles and the strivings. In these are included his constructive legislation in State and Nation, the suffrage clause of the Virginia Constitution, the value to the Nation in time of stress of the Federal Reserve Act, the speeches polemical and the speeches explanatory of abstruse financial theories, the floating of the Victory loan after the close of the First World War, when the Nation was weary and defeatists predicted failure.

But none of these constructive legislative and executive efforts and none of these platform triumphs, nor all of them, constitute his greatest contribution to his beloved Virginia and to his beloved country. That contribution was not of the material, but of the immaterial not of the flesh but of the spirit. It was his moral courage, his intellectual integrity, his absolute disregard of and contempt for the political consequences of the course of action upon which conscience and conviction had impelled him to embark. It was these characteristics that gave him influence, more

than any of his great qualities of mind. It was these things that gave him the respect of his colleagues, of opponent as well as of ally, of the people at home among whom he was reared and with whom he lived through the 88 years of his life.

CARTER GLASS stood firmly always for the things that are good in life. He stood for the eternal verities, the rock-ribbed concepts of Jeffersonian democracy, the underlying fundamental principles on which this great Nation of individual initiative and freedom of enterprise has grown to be the most potent factor in all of the world. His consuming ambition was to make his country bigger, better, and stronger—economically, politically, and morally. No man could be motivated by a purpose more noble or an ambition more lofty.

This man spoke out when there was something to be said. He acted forthrightly with promptness, unwavering purpose, and clear-cut decision when there was something to be done. Immovable before the surging torrent of criticism, unperturbed by the dissent of friendship, uninfluenced by the hope of political preferment, magnanimous in victory, devoid of recrimination in defeat, modest and humble under the avalanche of praise, laudation, and honor showered upon him, CARTER GLASS faced every issue throughout a long, eventful, and remarkable public career, and from his deathbed he handed back to the people of Virginia, whom he loved with zealous devotion and served with deep fidelity to trust, his warrior's helmet and shield without tarnish, without blemish, undefiled, without semblance of shame or taint of dishonor, but glistening, gleaming bright with the brilliance of the noonday sun. His place, forged by the dint of his own effort, is safe and secure in the annals of Virginia, to whose escutcheon he brings honor and credit and glory as he walks down the corridors of time to fame's eternal camping ground, there to answer the roll call of Virginia's and the Nation's great, with Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Lee, Wilson, and that innumerable caravan who have served faithfully, honorably, and well.

May his spirit brood over this convention and the memory of the qualities which made him great help to guide its deliberations.

CARTER GLASS would be the first to say that he owed much to the Democratic Party of Virginia, to the loyalty with which it supported him in his battles in national party conventions and in battles on the floor of the Congress of the United States, to the love which led it to present him to the Nation as one worthy of its highest honor. But we here who have followed his career know that the Democratic Party owes him much.

As a token payment of that debt, and as a reminder to future generations of the love and honor in which we, in company with Virginians of all parties, hold his memory, let it be hereby resolved:

First. That this convention voices its pride that the party it here represents can boast of such a man as CARTER GLASS as a member and leader; and

Second. That his strength of character, honesty of purpose, nobility of soul, courage of conviction, forensic power, sanity of judgment, tenacity of principle, depth of ethical concept, political and personal integrity, devotion to duty, loyalty to friendship, love for his country, and unwavering fealty to his God will ever stand as the bulwarks of his greatness, the vehicles of his accomplishment, and as a perpetual monument to his memory; and

Third. That it is the hope of this convention that whoever be its choice to succeed him in the Senate of the United States, Virginia will continue to be served with the same courage, the same ability, the same devotion, and with as much honor to the States; and

Fourth. That Virginia Democrats here in convention assembled, pause for a moment in silent tribute to a great Democrat, a great Virginian, a great American—the inimitable, the indomitable, the invincible CARTER GLASS.

MONDAY, *January 20, 1947.*

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record resolutions unanimously adopted by the conference of the minority as tributes to the memories of Hon. CHARLES O. ANDREWS, late a Senator from the State of Florida; Hon. JOSIAH W. BAILEY, late a Senator from the State of North Carolina; Hon. JOHN H. BANKHEAD 2d, late a Senator from the State of Alabama; and Hon. CARTER GLASS, late a Senator from the State of Virginia.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record.

CARTER GLASS

Whereas Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our colleague, the Honorable CARTER GLASS, late a Senator from the State of Virginia; and

Whereas throughout his long career in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service; and

Whereas as our trusted friend and close associate, he was ever ready to lend his judgment and his efforts in behalf of the Democratic Party: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, his Democratic colleagues in the United States Senate, express our deep sense of loss at his passing; and

Further, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased, that they may be assured of our deep respect for the late Senator and of our condolences upon the passing of our friend.

Adopted by the conference of the minority this 2d day of January 1947.

BRIEN MCMAHON,
Secretary.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *May 28, 1946.*

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution (S. Res. 273):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. CARTER GLASS, late a Senator from the State of Virginia.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate to take order for superintending the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now take a recess until 11 o'clock ante meridian tomorrow.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my sad duty to announce the death of the senior Senator from Virginia, Hon. CARTER GLASS.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 642) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. CARTER GLASS, a Senator of the United States from the State of Virginia.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 11 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral: Mr. Bland, Mr. Drewry, Mr. Burch, Mr. Flannagan, Mr. Smith of Virginia, Mr. Robertson of Virginia, Mr. Daughton of Virginia, Mr. Gary, Mr. Almond, Mr. Beall, and Mr. Ellis.

Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 604, and as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Member, the House will stand adjourned until 11 o'clock tomorrow.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 29, 1946, at 11 o'clock a. m.

FRIDAY, *May 31, 1946.*

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein an editorial from the Washington Star of May 29, 1946, dealing with the life, character, and services of the former senior Senator from Virginia, Hon. CARTER GLASS. The editorial, in my opinion, so accurately appraises Senator GLASS' services and outstanding ability that it deserves a permanent place in the records of the Congress. The editorial follows:

GLASS OF VIRGINIA

CARTER GLASS was born in a period when American citizens were debating the merits and the morality of slavery, but before slavery had created the issues which set them at each other's throats in civil war.

He died within a few days after a President had appealed in person to a joint session of Congress for authority temporarily to draft employers and employees into the Nation's service should their industrial strife imperil the welfare of the country.

His life thus spanned an era which witnessed great changes in the channels of thought and in the direction of the spiritual and materialistic progress of the people. More than 60 years of this life were spent in public office; for more than 44 of these years he represented his home district and his State as an influential Member of Congress.

Yet it would be difficult to label Senator GLASS with any tag, as we so often do these days in speaking of public men, and so to identify him with any of the numerous factions and sects which during his long life achieved passing prominence and then passed out of the picture. He will be remembered for his independence of thought, coupled with a moral courage and sureness of purpose which left him a free agent, beholden to no one. He belongs in that select group of distinguished men in our history who have regarded public office as a responsibility rather than as a reward.

He did not weigh his obligation to his constituency in terms of patronage or allegiance to prevailing fancies. He saw his obligation as an untrammeled duty to follow the course which seemed to him in the public interest. It is to the honor of his State that its voters retained him in office year after year because their faith in his integrity and ability outweighed occasional displeasure over his decisions. Age and illness, in his final days, reduced his presence in the Senate to that of a shadow. What many critics of this fictional incumbency failed to appreciate was the depth of his constituency's respect for the tradition which merely his name kept alive.

Sometimes a man's death raises him to the stature of a giant because of the merit we attach to things that are gone. But there was a quality about GLASS, of Virginia, in his upright independence, which looms large today because it has become increasingly rare. He followed politics as an avocation, in the custom of many Virginia gentlemen who preceded him. It was an avocation dedicated to principle, it scorned passing popularity and angrily rejected that form of political servitude which adopts a known course of action for any set of circumstances. We need more men in public office today who might know the freedom to follow one's conscience that Senator GLASS valued above everything else.

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